

TRUTH

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST TROTSKYIST BULLETIN

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Make the rich pay for more jobs!

Clinton says that he is going to push for Congress to set aside \$20 billion a year for a public works program to provide jobs for unemployed workers.

This is a tiny amount!

The U.S. government spends \$175 billion a year on interest payments on the national debt, which go right into the pockets of the richest bankers. It will spend \$500 billion to "save" the savings and loans associations, more money that will go right into the pockets of rich bankers.

Workers need to fight for much more serious measures to combat unemployments and provide jobs, like:

- a much more massive program of public works to provide jobs for the unemployed at *union* wages financed by the rich;
- laws to ban layoffs until there are more jobs;

- laws to cut workers' hours without cutting pay;
- laws to nationalize bankrupt enterprises and make them public utilities run by workers in the interests of the people;
- a program of cheap credit for small business people and farmers financed by the rich;

Above all, workers need to fight for the rich to pay for more jobs by:

- cutting politicians' salaries to the level of the average worker;
- cutting interest payments on the national debt that go to the richest bankers;
- cutting funds to rich military men and rich military contractors;
- taxing the richest, most parasitic elements ...

But in order to get these things, workers need to build their own political party, a big workers party based on the unions.

The Republicans and Democrats will never fight for these things, because they are totally owned and controlled by the richest. These politicians are stealing from the public treasury and splitting their loot with the richest bankers, businessmen, and military men.

This is why we urge all working people to join and build Labor Party Advocates. ■

Inside: Malice Green, Malcolm X

Capitalist competition or socialist cooperation?

Every thinking worker is asking: what can we do about the economy?

Today there is a world-wide economic crisis. The economies of all the big industrial countries are in deep recessions.

There are two roads out of this economic crisis being offered today. The first is that proposed by the rich and their representatives, like the new president, Bill Clinton. This road is making U.S.-based enterprises more competitive in the world economy. This "solution" is not really a solution since it will only lead to deeper crises and wars.

The second is socialist cooperation. This solution can lead to a world without hunger and starvation, without disease, without war. This is the one that workers should fight for.

Clinton's plan

Clinton said that he wanted to "invest in the economy and make it grow." He wants to:

- spend about \$20 billion a year for the next four years on rebuilding the roads, sewers, "infrastructure," etc.
- spend money on education, transforming it into a service for industry, and in exchange young people will perform various unnamed "public service" jobs.
- develop cooperation between industry and the government to strengthen U.S. industry.

The purpose of all these measures is to use public funds to help make privately-owned U.S. enterprises more competitive. They say if U.S. firms make better, cheaper products, they'll be able to sell more products, displace other firms, and eventually create more jobs for U.S. workers.

Clinton and others admit that making U.S. enterprises more competitive means cutting jobs, wages, paid benefits for U.S. workers. But they say this is temporary.

What does Clinton's plan mean for workers in other countries?

Capitalist competition

If we think of capitalist competition between economies as so many pro-football games then it is not too difficult to support making our country more competitive.

But capitalist competition in the world economy is not a game. Every time a country wins, some other country loses. The people in the losing country have a lower standard of living; more are unemployed, more are hungry.

The U.S. economy is still the strongest, biggest economy in the world. Yet, because the U.S. economy is weaker than it once was, "less competitive," U.S. workers are suffering more than they have suffered in over 40 years. Multiply this suffering a 1000 times to get some idea of how the vast majority of the economic "losers" have suffered under capitalist competition. The poverty in Latin America, the starvation in Somalia and other parts of Africa, are the result of the economic victory of the U.S. over their economies.

Some might argue, in the short run, U.S. workers will all have to sacrifice, but in the long run, we, and our children, will have it better. The U.S. will be more competitive, we will win markets from the other big countries.

That might sound realistic, but it is a reactionary pipe dream. Economic competition leads to trade wars. One almost started in recent weeks with France over agricultural products, and the small French farmers, who will be the ones who suffer, have not yet had the last word.

And, trade wars lead to military wars. The fundamental reason for wars under capitalism is control of wealth — the fight to control natural resources, the fight for markets to sell goods. Look at the Gulf War. It was about controlling oil.

Twice this century trade wars led to military wars between the richest countries — World War I and World War II. And the next time, the U.S. will be weaker than it ever has been in its history.

And, although it's unlikely, what if the U.S. wins? Well, it won World War I and World War II, and look where we are. In other words, in the long run, sooner or later, every big power falls. And when the big power falls, all the ordinary people of that country will suffer.

No. Capitalist competition, "making the U.S. more competitive in the world economy" is a road that leads, as night follows day, to losing, to war and all the suffering of war.

Socialist cooperation

There is a real solution. Socialist cooperation. Isn't that a dream? It is a lot closer to reality than it may appear.

The economies of the nations of the world are completely inter-linked. The countries of the world are more dependent on each other than they have ever been. The lives of the vast majority of people, and their needs, are completely tied up with one another. The wealth in the big countries is really social wealth, even though a few rich individuals control it. All the wealth in the U.S. has been accumulated by huge banks and corporations, employing tens of thousands of people, and linking these corporations and banks with others all around the world.

With these conditions, the objective bases exist for socialist cooperation.

When the working people of the U.S. decide to take control of the U.S. economic machine, to control this wealth to produce the things they need to live, it will be easy to cooperate with the people of other countries. It will be possible to plan to make what we need, to decide the best place to make it, the best design and so on. In other words, socialist cooperation. It is that simple.

The first goal of socialist cooperation will be: expand production to meet the needs of all the people of the world.

One of the clearest signs that capitalist competition is a bankrupt solution is that it is based on reducing production. It is based on taking already created markets — the U.S. and Europe — from the other capitalist countries. The capitalists are incapable of expanding production; they can only destroy the productive powers through trade wars, military wars. How many factories lie idle, rusting, because they are not "competitive"? How many productive working people have been killed in wars?

People need so many things and yet cannot have them because the capitalists cannot make a profit supplying them to people! The homeless in the U.S. are a good example.

It is in the interest of nearly all the people for the homeless to have food, clothing, shelter and employment. The next great

(Continued on next page)

Lessons of the struggle against the racist murderers of Malice Green ...

Nevers and Budzyn, the white police who beat-to-death Malice Green, a 35-year-old Black man, were finally charged with second-degree murder. Others involved were charged with lesser crimes.

These charges are a victory for African-Americans and all oppressed. They are a result of the popular uprising in L.A., the solidarity with this uprising in Detroit, and the fear that there will be another.

But it would be foolish to think that just because Nevers and Budzyn have been charged, that they will be convicted, or even that if they are convicted that they will be punished as others would be.

The "justice system" — the rules concerning selecting juries, the rules concerning evidence — are all stacked in favor of the oppressor and against the oppressed. The ruling powers in the U.S. need white racist cops who aren't afraid to beat-to-death uppity Blacks; they don't want to discourage white racist cops by punishing some of them who do their jobs and get caught.

Thus working people in the Detroit area must continue to be vigilant; they must be prepared to mobilize themselves in mass meetings, demonstrations, and strikes, to make sure these racist killers are convicted and punished.

The ruling powers in the Detroit area and those who work for them — the rich

Capitalist competition . . .

(Continued from previous page)
scientists could be, and probably are, among the homeless. But, under capitalism there is always suffering of working people resulting from striving "to make the U.S. competitive."

In the fight for socialist cooperation, the workers will squeeze the greatest possible gains out of the capitalists, while preparing the future.

The fight for socialist cooperation means removing the rich as controllers of the social wealth the workers have created. The workers will transform this wealth from an oppressive burden serving the few, to a mighty cooperative machine that serves the overwhelming majority of humankind. — J. Marlowe ■

families that own GM, Ford, Chrysler; the Republican and Democratic Party politicians; Coleman Young and Co.; various trade union leaders — are obviously trying to drag out this case for as long as possible and, in this way, *diffuse* popular anger.

Remember, these are the same people who have managed to close one factory in the Detroit area after another without provoking any mass working class and popular uprising.

They are going to use what they have learned in the last years to try to slip Nevers and Budzyn out of public view and into some country club prison for a brief period of time. Then off with a pension to a new location.

The rich owners of GM, Ford and Chrysler and the upper class Black politicians in office in Detroit need a *racist* police force to protect their property and keep down the masses of working people in the Detroit area. Who could they use against striking city workers or striking teachers?

This is why upper class whites and Blacks will try to protect Nevers and Budzyn and, above all, what they represent, the white racist core of the Detroit police force, as much as they can.

Workers, on the other hand, Black and white, must continue to follow this case closely and be prepared to mobilize themselves in mass, energetic actions that frighten the rulers.

The situation in L.A. also shows this. After the popular uprising, the cops who beat Rodney King were indicated again for violating his civil rights. But someone in the prosecutor's office has given the case to the cops' attorneys and many media men say it is unlikely that the cops will be convicted and punished!

This also shows that workers need to fight for a totally new justice system, for dissolving and disbanding the current police force and the courts, for replacing them with popular defense forces and popular courts, based in workplaces, working class neighborhoods and schools, directly elected by and accountable to the people. We need defense forces selected on the basis of their ability to defend the interests of the people, not the rich. — M.G. ■

BRIEFLY

7,000 largely immigrant workers who put up dry wall in Southern California won a strike after five months of union organizing, mass picketing, and conflicts with the police. Many of these workers had no citizenship papers; unemployment in Southern California is high. However, they were able to win their demands — union recognition, pay increases, and insurance — because they organized mass picketing that actually shut down construction sites and spread their strike.

Bush says he wants to send food, and now troops, to Somalia to help the people of Somalia who are starving. This is a lie. Bush has been sending food, and now wants to send troops, to help his allies in Somalia regain power. Workers and their unions need to fight for massive shipments of food to Somalia, and for union delegations to make sure that food gets into the hands of working class and popular forces in Somalia.

U.S. forces are now participating in a boycott of Yugoslavia. Again, the purpose of this boycott is not to help the people of Bosnia. A U.S. ship just turned away a Syrian ship going to trade in that region. Workers and oppressed in the U.S. need to fight to get U.S. government forces out of the Balkans; they need to fight for union aid to the people of Bosnia. Naturally some people will say we have too many problems here, why should we worry about people in other countries. But the progress of workers and oppressed in any country, helps workers and oppressed in other countries.

Several female government employees are charging various Congressmen with sexually harrasing them. But U.S. Congressmen have passed laws exempting themselves from laws governing sexual harrasment!

The Irish people have just voted to allow information on abortions to be distributed in Ireland and to allow Irish women to legally leave Ireland to get abortions. This is a victory for Irish women and their supporters. The next step is to abolish all laws restricting women's right to choose abortion if they wish to do so.

Members of Labor Party Advocates organizing the conference in Detroit on December 5 and 6 have decided to set aside space only for official LPA literature. They will not set aside space for members of LPA to distribute literature that is not officially endorsed or for anyone else. Some say they don't want literature distributed that might offend union officials that they are trying to win to LPA. Others say they don't want competitors to take advantage of LPA, like the 21st Century Party or the New Party. Still others say they don't want ultra-lefts who are hostile to LPA to distribute literature and offend people. But union officials and workers who are sincerely interested in building a labor party, aren't going to let things like this bother them. LPA should fight for freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Spark held a forum on the 75th anniversary of the Russian Revolution on November 8. Members of Spark argued that the Russian revolution is still alive, that if it is going to survive that it must be spread, that we need to organize a workers revolution in the U.S., and build a party to lead it.

A Wayne State University student initiated a forum on the 1992 elections and the 1993 elections open to representatives of various socialist tendencies on November 11. Many questions were asked and there was a lively discussion. All who participated expressed interest in getting together again; there was special interest in working class alternatives to Democratic and Republican candidates in the coming Detroit elections.

Truth sold 22 copies of the last issue of Truth at a meatpacking plant and an auto plant. We also distributed leaflets in solidarity with Malice Green and for the Labor Party Advocates educational conference. ■

On the movie *Malcolm X*

Malcolm X, a movie by Spike Lee, has just been released. The best thing about the film is that it shows Malcolm X, a man who was attacked as a racist and violent person during his life and after his death, for what he truly was: an honest and courageous fighter for the complete liberation of African-Americans by any means necessary. For this reason alone, everybody should see this movie.

We hope that by seeing the movie people think more, discuss more and study the struggle for the liberation of African-Americans.

Why do we say that Malcolm X was honest and courageous? Honest, because he remained true to himself, did not lie to anyone about what he believed, always said what he believed because he believed it, not because he was a parrot for others. Courageous, because he said what he said and did what he did no matter what the consequences for himself. He was an honest and courageous representative of an entire generation of young African-American militants in the 1960s. He was a product of their struggle for liberation from the oppression of racism. A struggle that is not over.

And, it is clear from the film, that he would not want anyone to idolize him. He would not want people to say or do as he simply because he said or did so. Above all, his life showed that the most important thing for anyone fighting for the liberation of African-American people, or, for the liberation of the working class for that matter, is to be true to yourself and in so doing, you will always be true to others.

Since Spike Lee is a filmmaker and not a revolutionary or an historian, there are parts of the film that are not historically accurate. This is not a criticism of the film. Rather, for those who are more interested in Malcolm X's life, this information will give some depth to scenes depicted quickly or not at all in the film. The quotations are from *The Last Year of Malcolm X* by George Breitman.

Much of the point of the film is to show how much Malcolm X changed after leaving the Muslims, as though his years in the Muslims were somehow wrong. But, much of what he did and said in the Muslims reflected a powerful change taking place among the most militant layer of African-Americans in the northern cities.

The split with the Muslims in 1963-64

occurred over their lack of involvement in the civil rights struggle. In the movie it shows Malcolm X organizing a militant march after a Muslim was beaten by the police, but it doesn't make any link between this activity and his split with the Muslims.

In reality, in 1962 seven Muslims were shot by Los Angeles police, one was killed and one severely crippled. Sixteen were then arrested on false charges of attacking the cops! Malcolm was sent by Elijah Muhammad to Los Angeles to handle the problem. He organized a powerful defense campaign including big demonstrations, calls to other groups and organizations to join the fight against police brutality and so on. Preparations were made to make the fight nationwide. Suddenly, the whole plan was dropped and the fight against police brutality was reduced to a legal one to get the 16 out of jail. Malcolm said later: "That's what split the Muslim movement. Some of our brothers got hurt, and nothing was done about it, and those of us who wanted to do something about it were kept from doing something about it. So we split."

The film does not give a complete picture of his evolution in the last year of his life. He was killed 50 weeks after leaving the Muslims and during that time his thought evolved in many directions.

The film does show Malcolm X willing to work with civil rights leaders. It doesn't say how he viewed the struggle for liberation.

He said: "Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for Negroes, and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives, but I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary, they cannot solve the main Negro problem. I shall tell them that what has been called the 'Negro Revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year. I shall tell them what a real revolution means — the French



Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria to name a few."

He was asked on March 19, 1964: "Can the race problem in America be solved under the existing political-economic system?" Malcolm X: "No." "Well then, what is the answer?" Malcolm X: "It answers itself."

Speaking only three days before his death, he said: "We are living in an era of revolution . . . It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Another change not shown in the film was that he developed a more favorable attitude toward socialism, although he never became a socialist. Speaking on December 20, 1964, about Africa, he said: "Almost every one of the countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident. . . . You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist."

He also associated himself with *The Militant*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. He spoke at three forums in New York sponsored by the SWP. Only a few weeks before his assassination, January 7, 1965, he said: "*The Militant* newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today."

In fact, if one wants to buy any of Malcolm X's speeches, nearly all of them are printed by Pathfinder Press, the publishing house run by the SWP. Some of his closest collaborators later joined the SWP and at least one, Kwame M.A. Somburu, still remains a Trotskyist in the organization Socialist Action.

The most important thing, though, is not what Malcolm X thought. What do young people, African-American people, think today? What are they going to do today? Are they going to become involved in the struggle, are they going to study, think for themselves and speak and fight for the truth as they see it?

This is the true challenge of the life of Malcolm X. —J. Marlowe ■

The future of the Russian Revolution

After seventy-five years have passed since the workers took power for the first time and with a situation that is economically disastrous and politically very complex, what is the future of the Russian Revolution?

Let us begin with the difficult economic situation, and this, because it is, if Russia and all the old territories of the ex-USSR have been, until today, one of the first world powers in arms and sophisticated technology, in oil and gas, in industrial and agricultural machinery . . . how has it come to be that there are so many terrible deprivations for the people?

The reality is that this has been the enormous cost of a parasitic bureaucracy which has been chewing up the greater part of goods for consumption, on the one hand, and detouring part of investment in technology and improvements in industry toward its own caste interests. The so-called "political-military complex," "mafias," that control the state market and also the "black" market, the laziness of the top functionaries in industry and their corruption, etc., . . . is what has disorganized the planned economy. But the future continues being here: millions of workers with general skills and culture that one doesn't find among many peoples; the massive education of industrial labor. This basis of the revolution is much more powerful today than it was in 1917, to the point that, as many Western bourgeois journalists note, "it is the country with the largest industrial working class in the world."

From a political point of view, the complexity comes from the fact that, there still has not been material time for this industrial working class to constitute its own party. And, logically, its political intervention is still support to this or that sector of the bureaucracy or the national bourgeoisie, against the main enemy, which was the all-powerful Stalinist bureaucracy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But the determined in-

tervention of the workers in all the struggles of the people has divided the bureaucracy: Yelstin,

Gorbachev, the Civic Union, the recalcitrant Stalinists, the extreme right-wing fascist military. The "big mafia" has been divided particularly since the failure of the coup d'état in August, 1991. Out of this has come diverse "mafias," opposed to each other and opposed to the workers and to the people, impotent, as a whole, to carry out a peaceful counterrevolution (the "reforms" aimed at passing from a workers state to a capitalist state).

Seen in its entirety, the political panorama that is shown to us, shows the haste that each sector has to implant the market economy. But haste before what, before whom? The response cannot be more clear: before the workers and the people who are withdrawing political credit from these "heroes," of August, 1991.

Up until now, in the last year and a half, the workers, still dispersed and disorganized, have dedicated themselves to resisting in a trade union way. This has allowed the nostalgic types from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to entrench themselves behind the movements of protest and demands, to utilize them to negotiate their privileges, to maintain their quota of power in the Russian Parliament or in, the "super-Parliament" of the soviets of the entirety of the ex-USSR that still has not been dissolved.

But today the workers have more experience, more political and union organizations; Trotskyist groups who are partisans of developing the conquests of the October Revolution are advancing. The new crisis that is approaching will favor the separation of the working class from all the old ex-Stalinist cliques and elevate its role to that of the political leadership in opposition to the failure of the corrupt bureaucrats, partisans of the

ОКТАБРЬ 1917



restoring capitalism.

The future of the Russian Revolution is thus being prepared, with a new revolutionary upsurge which will necessarily come for diverse reasons: because of the necessities of a population in poverty; because of the total political discrediting of the different wings of the bureaucracy; because of the advance of freedoms, in particular, national freedom and freedom for parties.

That is to say, the future is going to be linked to the political revolution that has already begun its course, dismantling the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and dividing its parasitic apparatus. It will pass to a more energetic phase which is that of finishing with all privilege, all power, that is not elected, not controlled. This and replacing it with a broader democracy: the power of the workers mobilized and armed, controlling and managing directly the resources of the country.

The workers of the whole world, in particular those of the most industrialized countries, we must thus continue to follow, with the greatest interest, the next events that will take place in Russia, cradle of the workers revolutions. While capitalism in our countries is stagnating, enters into recession and announces very difficult attacks on our class and the people, we can begin to think seriously about uniting our efforts for socialism here with those of our class brothers waging the battle to regenerate socialism.

(Reprinted from La Aurora, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party in Spain) ■

Truth is published by the Trotskyist Committee of Detroit. The Trotskyist Committee of Detroit is named after Leon Trotsky, a leader of the first successful workers socialist revolution and a founder of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. The Trotskyist Committee of Detroit is associated with one of the international tendencies of the Fourth International, the International League for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International. Editor: M. Guttshall

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Join the labor party movement!

Labor Party Advocates is holding an educational conference in Detroit on December 5 and 6.

Truth urges all working people to attend this conference, join Labor Party Advocates, and push for building Labor Party Advocates in a large and rapid way.

Labor Party Advocates was initiated by representatives of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, a 100,000 person union. From the beginning, the founders of Labor Party Advocates said they wanted to recruit 1,000 union officials and 100,000 members, then hold a founding convention, adopt a platform, map out plans to run candidates, etc. A few months ago, leaders of Labor Party Advocates announced that they would like to accomplish this goal by 1994.

Of course, Labor Party Advocates has problems..

It was initiated by trade union officials who work and live in relatively comfortable conditions. Thus they tend to think and act too much like the most comfortable layers of the population, and not enough like the most exploited and oppressed workers in the population.

They are concerned about maintaining ties with other trade union officials who support the Democratic Party and various Democratic Party politicians. This is understandable. However, they are some times reluctant to say clearly and loudly what must be said to build Labor Party Advocates in a large and rapid way — workers aren't going to make big progress without a big workers party.

There are also members of Labor Party Advocates who don't seem to see much difference between a labor party based on the unions, that is, a party owned and controlled by working people, and parties like the 21st Century Party or the New Party, and they aren't sure whether they want to build Labor Party Advocates, the 21st Century Party, the New Party, or all three.

Building a labor party based on the unions means building a qualitatively different party, a party owned and controlled by ordinary working people, even if it doesn't totally reflect their interests, even if they have difficulty making it reflect their interests. Parties like the 21st Century Party, and the New Party, are really

just more radical versions of the Democratic Party, parties owned and controlled by professional and semi-professional middle class politicians who have already decided what the platform will be, who haven't made any provisions for millions of working people to own and control these parties, and decide what they are going to do.

These are some of the problems of Labor Party Advocates. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Labor Party Advocates is the only organization that exists today for the sole purpose of building a labor party based on the unions. It is the only organization open to *all* working people for a labor party no matter what their political views may be — conservative, liberal, radical, trade unionist, socialist, etc.

Thus it is the only organization that exists today that has the potential to bring together thousands of working people.

It is the only framework that exists today in which workers can learn to build a big workers party that brings together workers with different political points of view.

The unions can obviously bring together thousands of workers from time to time around specific issues, strikes, etc. But their membership is limited to workers in specific workplaces. There are many different socialist groups and factions. But

they are very small and their membership is limited to workers who are socialists; more, to workers who agree with this or that socialist tendency or faction.

Labor Party Advocates is the only organization that has the potential that it has.

Obviously, there are no guarantees. Labor Party Advocates might fail. It might die. It might not lead directly to the foundation of a labor party based on the unions. The labor party that it founds might be small, never take off, die, or degenerate.

But regardless of the fate of Labor Party Advocates and the labor party that it might found, workers and revolutionaries will learn from this experience. They'll learn how to build a big workers party, how to unite workers with different views against their common enemy, the importance of a revolutionary workers party prepared to fight for the interests of the workers and the oppressed population by any means necessary, and they'll gather forces for this struggle.

So partisans of a revolutionary workers party, Trotskyists, Fourth Internationalists, should be in the front ranks of this struggle.

Join Labor Party Advocates! Build Labor Party Advocates! Forward to a big workers party based on the unions! — M. Guttshall ■

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in 1993 and beyond

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